## U.S. Discussions of Indian-Pakistani Wai Texts of Secret Documents on Top-Level

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5—Following are the texts of three secret documents made public today by the columnist Jack Anderson describing meetings of the National Security Council's Washington Special Action Group on the crisis between India and Pakistan:

## Memo on Dec. 3 Meeting

Secret Sensitive

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WASHINGTON, D. C. 20301

Refer to: 1-29643/71

International Security Affairs Memorandum for Record

SUBJECT

WSAG meeting on India/Pakistan participants.

Assistant to the President for national security affairs-Henry A. Kissinger Under Sccretary of State - John N.

Deputy Secretary of Defense - David Packard

Director, Central Intelligence Agency-Richard M. Helms

Deputy Administrator (A.I.D.)—Maurice

J. Williams Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff- Adm.

Thomas H. Moorer Assistant Secretary of State (N.E.E.A.R.)

-Joseph J. Sisco Assistant Secretary of Defense (I.S.A.)

←G. Warren Nutter

Assistant Secretary of State (I.O.)-Samuel De Palma

Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (I.S.A.)-Armistead I. Selden

Assistant Administrator (A.I.D/N.E.S.A.) -Donald G. MacDonald

. TIME AND PLACE

3 December 1971, 1100 hours, Situation Room, White House.

## SUMMARY

Reviewed conflicting reports about major actions in the west wing. C.I.A. more irrevocable letters of credit issued agreed to produce map showing areas under the \$99-million credit. He wants of East Pakistan occupied by India. the \$72-million P.L. 480 credit also held. The President orders hold on issuance of additional irrevocable letters of credit involving \$99-million, and a hold on further action implementing the \$7million P.L. 480 credit. Convening of Security Council meeting planned contingent on discussion with Pak Ambassador this afternoon plus further clarification of actual situation in West Pakistan. Kissinger asked for clarification of secret special interpretation of March, 1959, bilateral U. S. agreement Pak Ambassador this afternoon, and the with Pakistan.

KISSINGER: I am getting hell every move in the U.N. soon. half-hour from the President that we are not being tough enough on India. of this as soon as we have some con-

comes out otherwise.

HELMS: Concerning the reported ac tion in the west wing, there are conflicting reports from both sides and the only common ground is the Pak attacks on the Amritsar, Pathankot and Srinagar airports. The Paks say the Indians are attacking all along the border; but the Indian officials say this is a lie. In the cast wing the action is becoming larger and the Paks claim there are now seven separate fronts involved.

KISSINGER: Are the Indians scizing

territory?

HELMS: Yes: small bits of territory,

definitely.

SISCO: It would help if you could provide a map with a shading of the areas occupied by India. What is happening in the West-is a full-scale attack likely?

MOORER: The present pattern is puzzling in that the Paks have only struck at three small airfields which do not house significant numbers of Indian combat aircraft.

HELMS: Mrs. Gandhi's speech at I:30 may well announce recognition of Bangladesh.

MOORER: The Pak attack is not credible. It has been made during late afternoon, which doesn't make sense. We do not seem to have sufficient facts on this yet.

KISSINGER: Is it possible that the Indians attacked first and the Paks simply did what they could before dark in response?

MOORER: This is certainly possible. KISSINGER: The President wants no

WILLIAMS: Word will soon around when we do this. Does the President understand that?

KISSINGER: That is his order, but 1 will check with the President again. If asked, we can say we are reviewing our whole economic program and that the granting of fresh aid is being suspended in view of conditions on the subcontinent. The next issue is the U.N.

IRWIN: The Secretary is calling in the Sceretary leans toward making a U.S.

KISSINGER: The President is in favor

He has just called me again. He does firmation of this large-scale new action. not believe we are carrying out his If the U.N. can't operate in this kind of wishes. He wants of cille in for five lease 200 1/0 3/04 lit C ACRE 180 - No. 1 000 380 1 000 38-0

. U.N. guarantees in the Middle East.

SISCO: We will have a recommendation for you this afternoon, after the meeting with the Ambassador. In order to give the Ambassador time to wire home, we could tentatively plan to convene the Security Council tomorrow.

KISSINGER: Wc have to take action. The President is blaming me, but you

people are in the clear.

SISCO: That's ideal! KISSINGER: The earlier draft for Bush is too even-handed.

SISCO: To recapitulate, after we have seen the Pak Ambassador, the Secretary will report to you. We will update the draft speech for Bush.

KISSINGER: We can say we favor political accommodation but the real job of the Security Council is to prevent military action.

SISCO: We have never had a reply either from Kosygin or Mrs. Gandhi.

WILLIAMS: Are we to take economic steps with Pakistan also?

KISSINGER: Wait until I talk with the President. He hasn't addressed this problem in connection with Pakistan

SISCO: If we act on the Indian side, we can say we are keeping the Pakistan situation "under review."

KISSINGER: It's hard to tilt toward Pakistan if we have to match every Indian step with a Pakistan step. If you wait until Monday, I can get a Presidential decision.

PACKARD: It should be easy for us to inform the banks involved to defer action inasmuch as we are so near the weekend.

KISSINGER: We need a WSAG in the morning. We need to think about our treaty obligations. I remember a letter or memo interpreting our existing treaty with a special India tilt. When I visited Pakistan in January, 1962, I was briefed on a secret document or oral understanding about contingencies arising in other than the SEATO context, Perhaps it was a Presidential letter. This was a special interpretation of the March, 1959, bilateral agreement.

Prepared by: /S/ initials

JAMES M. NOYES Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, African and South Asian Af-

Approved: (illegible signature)

For G. Warren Nutter Assistant Secretary of Denfense for International Security Affairs

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